1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

off with them to Sandusky, under the protection of the British Government. We have seen in a former chapter that he afterwards saw how impolitic his conduct had been, and probably wished to retrace his steps, but it was too late. He had suffered himself to be misled by his passions, excited by the remembrance of former wrongs, and thus was betrayed into his injudicious conduct. Perhaps also his jealousy of Captain White Eyes, whose superiority his proud mind could not bear, did not in a small degree contribute to it. Pipe was certainly a great man, but White Eyes was, in my opinion, the greatest of the two. I was present when he made the speech which I have related, and never shall forget the impression it made upon me.

Thus Indian politicians work and manage matters against each other without newspaper wrangles, abuse of character, personal quarrels, or open insults. Their ingenuity, when joined to a good cause, generally makes them come off victorious. In a bad cause, on the contrary, they are sure to meet with detection and defeat, as Captain Pipe, for his misfortune, sadly experienced.

CHAPTER XVI.

MARRIAGE AND TREATMENT OF THEIR WIVES.

THERE are many persons who believe, from the labour that they see the Indian women perform, that they are in a manner treated as slaves. These labours, indeed, are hard, compared with the tasks that are imposed upon females in civilised society; but they are no more than their fair share, under every consideration

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

and due allowance, of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily, but cheerfully submitted to; and as women are not obliged to live with their husbands any longer than suits their pleasure or convenience, it cannot be supposed that they would submit to be loaded with unjust or unequal burdens.

Marriages among the Indians are not, as with us, contracted for life; it is understood on both sides that the parties are not to live together any longer than they shall be pleased with each other. The husband may put away his wife whenever he pleases, and the woman may in like manner abandon her husband. Therefore the connexion is not attended with any vows, promises or ceremonies of any kind. An Indian takes a wife as it were on trial, determined, however, in his own mind not to forsake her if she behaves well, and particularly if he has children by her. The woman, sensible of this, does on her part every thing in her power to please her husband, particularly if he is a good hunter or trapper, capable of maintaining her by his skill and industry, and protecting her by his strength and courage.

When a marriage takes place, the duties and labours incumbent on each party are well known to both. It is understood that the husband is to build a house for them to dwell in, to find the necessary implements of husbandry, as axes, hoes, &c. to provide a canoe, and also dishes, bowls, and other necessary vessels for house-keeping. The woman generally has a kettle or two, and some other articles of kitchen furniture, which she brings with her. The husband, as master of the family, considers himself bound to support it by his bodily exertions, as hunting, trapping, &c.; the woman, as his *help-mate*, takes upon herself the labours of the field, and is far from considering them as more important than those to which her husband is subjected, being well satisfied that with his gun and traps he can maintain a family in any place where game is to be found: nor do they think it any hardship imposed upon them; for they themselves say, that

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

These honours of "mourning over the corpse" are paid to all; the poor and humble, as well as the rich, great, and powerful; the difference consists only in the number of mourners, the undistinguished Indian having few besides his immediate relations and friends, and sometimes only those. Women, (notwithstanding all that has been said of their supposed inferior station and of their being reduced to the rank of slaves) are not treated after their death with less respect than the men, and the greatest honours are paid to the remains of the wives of renowned warriors or veteran chiefs, particularly if they were descended themselves of a high family, which, however strange it may appear, is not an indifferent thing among the Indians, who love to honour the merit of their great men in their relatives. I was present in the year 1762, at the funeral of a woman of the highest rank and respectability, the wife of the valiant Delaware chief *Shingask*; as all the honours were paid to her at her interment that are usual on such occasions, I trust a particular description of the ceremony will not be unacceptable.

At the moment that she died, her death was announced through the village by women specially appointed for that purpose, who went through the streets crying, "*She is no more! she is no more!*" The place on a sudden exhibited a scene of universal mourning; cries and lamentations were heard from all quarters; it was truly the expression of the general feeling for a general loss.

The day passed in this manner amidst sorrow and desolation. The next morning, between nine and ten o'clock, two counsellors came to announce to Mr. Thomas Calhoon, the Indian trader, and myself, that we were desired to attend and assist at the funeral which was soon to take place. We, in consequence, proceeded to the house of the deceased, where we found her corpse lying in a coffin, (which had been made by Mr. Calhoon's carpenter) dressed and painted in the most superb Indian style. Her gar-

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Technology

Subsistence

241
262
[114]

At the beginning of historic times all of the Middle Atlantic Slope cultures subsisted by means of hoe-gardening, fishing, and hunting. The relative importance of each of these subsistence methods has long been disputed for the area as a whole. Kroeber has maintained that agriculture was not basic to life in the Eastern Area, that "there is little to argue that the culture was leaning very fundamentally on agriculture."[6] He is almost certainly in error in minimizing agriculture and in the reasons he gives for its unimportance, at least so far as the Delawares were concerned. Among the more inland groups agriculture definitely was of paramount importance. In 1654 Lindestrom described a group on the Schuylkill who had ". . . . their dwellings side by side one another, wherefore this land is thereby being cleared and cultivated with great power."[7] Juet before 1610 described a group in the neighborhood of Sandy Hook as having a "great store of Maiz,"[8] and De Vries, De Laet, and William Penn all said that the principal food was maize.[9] Krieger in 1663, in an expedition against some New Jersey Delawares, cut down two hundred and fifteen acres of maize and burned over one hundred pits of corn and beans.[10] Wallace recently contended that agriculture was basic in the economy and added that the high status of women was a function of their basically important agricultural activities.[11] Hunting, gathering, and fishing were also important activities, and seasonally they may well have rivaled agricultural activity.

[562]

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Gardening.—The principal crop plant was corn or maize (*Zea mays*), raised by the women.[12] They had several varieties ". . . .white, red, blue, flesh-colored, brown, yellow and spotted ears."[13] Holm in the early decades of the seventeenth century said the Delawares grew ". . . black maize of the colour of tar. . ."[14] Harrington in his field work among the Oklahoma Delawares noted six varieties that had been handed down from the early days and were still grown. There were "three soft and three hard" varieties.[15] The Delawares today remember or possess a white-flour corn used principally in bread;[16] red corn, a flint variety; Osage corn, a soft variety; blue corn; and Deer corn, a striped variety (J.T.). There is no assurance that these varieties have not been borrowed by the Delawares in recent times. The cultivated fields seem to have been rather small in extent. Kalm stated that an Indian's garden took up no more ground "than a farmer in our country takes to plant cabbage for his family. At least, a farmer's cabbage and turnip ground,

[6]Kroeber, 1947, p. 148.
[7]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 170.
[8]Juet, 1909, p. 18.
[9]De Vries, 1909, p. 218; De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[10]O'Callaghan, 1851, IV: 39.
[11]Wallace, 1947, pp. 9-10.
[12]De Laet, 1909, p. 49; Denton, 1845, p. 6; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[13]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179; see also De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Kalm, 1937, I: 74.
[14]Holm, 1834, p. 49.
[15]Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[16]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 180, said bread was baked from white and yellow corn.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

624 ory, experience in the affairs of the state and a knowledge of the formal language employed in council, which differs as much from the common language as does the language used by the whites in legal procedure, from the language of ordinary intercourse.

202 When a message is to be sent, this is entrusted to two or more messengers. One of these is to be the speaker, the others being ready to remind him of anything he might forget. A message is formally entrusted to ambassadors at a meeting of the Council. It is repeated a number of times and the one appointed speaker of the messengers must in turn repeat it several times, until he is able to deliver the message with facility and in proper form. The messengers are then fitted out with necessaries for the journey and dispatched. As the whole of a message is to be delivered verbally, a speaker must be a sensible and reliable man. Young men, destined for such service, are admitted as hearers to the council, where they may learn much. Any one employed as messenger is held in high regard. They must be young men, of great endurance on the march, who will not be stopped by bad weather or high waters. On occasions of extreme importance, as in time of war, messengers may have to be on the march night and day, finding their way in the darkest night on paths that a white man could scarce follow in daytime.

623 The council meetings are as quiet and orderly as if they were acts of devotion. Noises, talking and laughing are not heard, even though the young may be present. All pay strict attention to the speaker. The counsellors are called together by a servant and when they appear, they welcome one another, [276] shake hands and express their joy at meeting. Each brings pouch, pipe and they smoke a considerable amount of tobacco that has been mixed with dried and crushed sumac leaves. Women are never admitted to the council; in matters of public [562] interest they may stand about the house and listen, and they account it an honor when they are admitted, to hand victuals and keep up the fire. Provisions must always be in plenty in the council-house, for eating and deliberating alternate.

The principal chief, either himself or through a speaker, sets forth the subjects that shall engage the attention of the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

THE RITES

When night came, the leader entered the brush house, taking with him a turtle rattle similar to that used in the Annual Ceremony, followed by the men who were to participate (no women being allowed), and then made a speech, telling of the men who had "brought in" this meeting, and explaining its origin, but making no prayers to the Great Spirit or to any of the *manĭ'towĭk*, his helpers. He then threw half of the hog-fat upon the fire, and placed a string of wampum around his own neck. At this juncture the cook brought him the hog's head in its bowl, and then, first announcing, "I am now going to carry the head around," the leader began to chant and to walk about the house, making false motions to everyone as if to give him the head, then withdrawing it and proceeding to the next. The burden of the chant, the Indians say, was "what his dream helper told him," very much as in the Big House, but here the people kept time to his chant orally, saying "*Hu-hu-hu!*" until he

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippe	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	T. W.
												342
												756
												155
												621
												765
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												912
												895
												858
Medicine—Continued												
52. Perform surgical operation				(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−
53. Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			−		−	−	−	−	−
54. Always use juggling tricks †	+	S	S	S	S	−		−	S		S	S
55. Beat on own breast	+		(+)			+			+	+	+	+
56. Blow in hands	+		(+)		±	+			+	−	+	+
57. Make rumbling noise	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+
58. Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
59. Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+
60. Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+
General Manners and Customs												
61. Eat human flesh			•(−)	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−
62. Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65. Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
66. Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+
67. Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
68. In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	•+
69. Use words equivalent to swearing		−		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. to opposite sex						+	−	+	+	−	+	•
72. common to try to suppress to same sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	+
73. common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	−	−	•
74. Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	+
75. On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	−	+	−	+
76. On return home men treat children with indifference					−	−	•	•	−	−	−	−
77. Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
78. Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		•+	•	•	•	+	•+	+

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9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippa	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
575												458
585												918
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Birth and its incidents—Continued

113. Parents exercise any control over mature children
114. Age children are expected to maintain themselves
115. Child given daily bath †
116. Cradle used
117. Consists of board
118. with cushion
119. with hoop over head
120. hoop decorated
121. Cradle put in hammock
122. Boys and girls treated with equal care and affection
123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate
124. Mother takes care of illegitimate
125. Father not compelled to contribute but may do so
126. Birth of twins frequent
127. Number of instances of triplets
128. Are parental feelings strong
129. Are filial feelings strong
130. Do they (128 and 129) continue through life

Marriage and its incidents

131. Courtship
132. Marriage arranged by parents
133. Consent of either party asked
134. Any ceremony of marriage †
135. Presents for bride
136. Presents for family of bride
137. Presents exchanged
138. Time served by boy
139. Polygamy common †
140. Only rich or chiefs have more than one

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

266 727 inating the torture of prisoners, burning at the stake, and eating of their flesh. These elements were considered to have been adopted by other tribes in retaliation. Hence it is difficult to understand how the Delaware could have escaped or withstood this influence. The only explanation that seems at all plausible is that when the Delaware were subjugated by the Iroquois early in the eighteenth century, they lost the prime reason for the practice and soon lost even the memory of it.

576 According to information from the eighteenth century and later, the Indian mode of greeting was shaking hands (62). The three manuscripts of the early nineteenth century claimed that shaking hands was a very old Indian custom and one in existence before white contact. In the national worshiping society or Big House where an effort was made to preserve ancient customs, the left hand was used. This was the hand nearer the heart and so considered to be a more direct conveyance of friendship. It is interesting to note that the two modern informants who have participated in the Big House confirmed this use of the left hand, whereas the two who have had no firsthand information of this ceremony claimed the right hand was always used by the Delaware. None of the seventeenth-century sources, including accounts not used in the tabulation, referred to hand shaking. This absence of mention is not surprising as many details were ignored by the early writers, but in the case of Williams who gave many different expressions for greetings and included a description of an Indian stroking a sachem upon both shoulders, the suggestion is strong that hand shaking was not in use until learned from the whites. Early accounts of customs at the time of contact between other tribes and whites also indicate that hand shaking was not an Indian custom. Hence, we have a custom that was borrowed from the whites some time before the accounts of the second period.

576 562 There seems to have been a change in the freedom with which emotions toward the same and the opposite sex were exhibited (70-73). Part of the responsibility for the apparent change may be assigned to a lack of information or understanding. It is doubtful if any conclusions are warranted on the basis of the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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information available. On the other hand, the expression of feelings between men and their wives and children, which is a closely related subject, definitely shows a change in the fourth period (75, 76). In the second and third periods indifference on the part of the men to their wives on returning home was reported, whereas, in the fourth period, the two younger informants disclaimed such indifference. Paternal indifference to children is denied throughout. The behavior of the older men toward their wives was in accordance with the old ways, they said, whereas that of the younger men was apparently influenced by white standards of behavior.

Captain Chipps and two of the informants, W. T. and W. L., considered the Delaware to differ from other tribes in color (80). Among the informants the matter was one of personal opinion unwarranted by the color of the individual informants. The opinion is also unwarranted from a comparison of skin, hair, and eye color with members of neighboring tribes who have approximately the same percentage of Indian blood. The greater degree of sociability, friendship, and hospitality among the Delaware and all the informants is to be attributed, in part, at least, to their religion and their feeling of superiority to other tribes (82-84). They believe their Big House or Delaware "church" to be superior to the religious beliefs of other tribes, but they are tolerant of the shortcomings of the others and attempt no missionary work. Friendship with all mankind is preached in the Big House and practiced by all believers.

The elements concerned with the physical duties of the woman in the home are of doubtful value from a psychological and terminological viewpoint (85-87). The terms "easy," "contented," and "drudgery" all carry connotations beyond their strict meanings that are so divergent in their use by different observers or informants that comparison is impossible. It is interesting to note, however, that Heckewelder and Johnston agree with the statements of the modern Delaware that the position of women was easy and contented and that they were not considered menial servants of the men. The only dissenting voice was that of Captain Chipps. Nowhere is there any evidence that the women considered themselves imposed upon by the men.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

885 individual prowess, it is doubtful if a definite age was observed before the introduction of the concept of a legal age by the whites.

Family Government

593 Questions dealing with the display of tenderness and affection between husband and wife were framed by Cass to be answered by observers outside the group under consideration (271, 285). The opinions of the Delaware themselves were, of course, in the affirmative for the existence and display of these emotions, but they agreed with the information of the writers of the earlier periods who were only observers.

462 In seeking information on the elements dealing with the occupations of the husband and wife, it was emphasized that we were concerned with earlier conditions as well as with present practices. Although the methods may have changed, the responsibilities of the husband have remained the same from the earliest times known. He is still the provider of meat, clothing, and other necessities whether as the direct or indirect result of hunting or other activity (272-74).

593 462 562 The wife was expected in the old days to obey her husband, make clothing and moccasins of material provided by her spouse, tend the garden or fields, cook meals, and provide fuel (275-80). These duties were reported for women throughout the first three periods. It is interesting to note that three of the modern informants, J. W., W. T., and E. R., denied the agricultural responsibilities of women. It is a tossup whether they were uninformed of conditions in the past or answered as they did because these are not the sole responsibility of the women now and they interpreted the past in terms of their present customary division of labor which is similar to that of the whites. This chivalrous attitude is maintained on the question of manual labor falling on the wife (281). On all these elements the information of W. L. reflected the earlier conditions.

[224] [484] According to Heckewelder, when hunting was of great importance, the husband could not be encumbered with any burden when moving camp but must of necessity leave all that to his wife and himself be on the lookout for game (282). In the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, according to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish his wife if she broke a rule.

Food, Mode of Living, etc.

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox, muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91)." J. W. said that opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle, and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle, turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct subdivisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware regard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292-98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes and other less important wild products were gathered. The

"Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

454. Co-coze-kon dance

535 CAPTAIN CHIPPS described this dance as different from the others. In it they all joined hands and stood in a ring, performing the usual motion of leaping up. He also said that when both sexes united in this amusement, they danced promiscuously.

None of the modern Delaware recognized this dance although W. L. thought that he had heard the name.

It is possible that this is the same dance that Zeisberger described as follows: On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty
[648] with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

462. Women excluded from war dance

721 CAPTAIN CHIPPS in treating of war said that women were al-
562 lowed to share in the great dance given just before setting out
535 on an expedition. In speaking of dances, he said that the Delaware had many different ones, the most important of which was the War dance, which was celebrated immediately after the declaration of war and from which the women were excluded, although they joined all the other dances. This is a contradiction unless one assumes that "to share in the great dance" referred to singing but not dancing. Evidence that such was sometimes the case is found in the following account of HECKEWELDER: After
[127] returning from a successful expedition, a dance of *thanksgiving* is always performed, which partakes of the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompanied with singing and choruses, in which the women join. But they take no part in the rest of the performance. At the end of every song, the *scalp-yell* is shouted as many times as there have been scalps taken from the enemy.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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W. L. said that somtimes women joined the war dance, but usually only if they had lost relatives. 721 562 535

463. Dance in circle

W. T. described all dances as being done in a circle with all motion counterclockwise.

E. R. said the dancers moved around the circle clockwise.

W. L. stated that some dances were in circles but there might be several concentric circles. The men always danced in front of the women but in the cases of more than two concentric circles, the innermost formed of men, the next of women, the next of men and the outermost of women. In some dances the women danced on one spot while the men danced all around in pairs or in small groups.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

The mask rite, says Wi·tapano'xwe, is an individual or family, not a group rite. The record of the change of hands through which it passed, going into each of the three groups at different times, brings out this act.

Since it happened that the custody of the mask fell to Delaware women as well as to men, there seems to have been no restriction as to sex in the office of keeping the masks as reported for the Iroquois. The same is true of the corn-husk masks. As among the Iroquois the Delaware wooden mask was kept face down when not in use, but only, the informant added, because the cloth covering at the back would make this position more convenient. We are impressed with the ruling that the mask could not be played with nor worn for social masquerading.

To the ethnologist, however, the significance of the Mask-Spirit is deep. The whole question of the trait which it represents in the customs of the Delawares is fraught with the possibilities of an archaic northern background, into which fits a series of beliefs and practices extending across boreal North America through northeastern Asia. The game owner concept, in short, stands forth in high relief among the far northern Algonkian. Its most intense development appears among the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula.[1] For the region of the Great Lakes among the Central Algonkian we have as yet no records to substantiate the existence of the Game Owner concept so far south. The Delaware case is accordingly one of noteworthy bearing. Before passing by what Delaware belief has to contribute to the Game Owner concept in general the information pertaining to the mask spirits to be given in a text reserved for the later publication should be considered.[2] Here an account is recorded in which masks made of corn-husks are worn by messengers who go about announcing the occasion of a corn ceremony. The personification of the spirit of corn seems intended in the wearing of such a mask.

THE TORTOISE AS A SYMBOL.—Outlined in particularly high relief is the tortoise. In the latter creature we have the symbol of life, of perseverence, longevity and steadfastness. As the Delaware patriarch says, "The tortoise is the earth; is life." In the procession of time and among the elemental nature forces the direction of movement is from east to west, according to Delaware belief. So moves the tortoise with measured pace across the earth and through the Big House, carrying out the mythical allegory. At the end of his journey at the "western door," meaning where the sun sets at the edge of the

[1] Extended treatment of the religious beliefs and philosophy of the northern peoples, so far as the Game Owner concept is concerned, will be available for the students of religious customs of pre-literate peoples when manuscript now in course of preparation shall have been published.

[2] To form another volume of this series.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

A turkey's [1] wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the ceremony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct. And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they selected an officer from the Delaware Agency who is on guard all the time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.[2]

[1] The specific term for the Wild Turkey (Meleagris gallipavo) is tel'kanam, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term pale' which denotes any of the birds of the group, though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

[2] The imformant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 139) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook[1] are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness, because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of whatever kind they may be which are domesticated.[2]

[1] Being in their catamenial periods.

[2] This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set upright and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fireplace with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty every morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Sometimes two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

form." Despite the differences in locale and in the inherent variability of the cult, there is a surprising correspondence between the Big Moon meeting of 1930 in Anadarko and the one held in 1952 near Dewey. The similarity between the arrangement of the tepee I have described and the eight variants of the Big Moon altar and tepee which Petrullo diagrams is striking; the same is true of the conduct of the meetings. The principal differences between the meetings are presented in Table I (Petrullo, 1934: 87–95). The differences are minor; for the most part they are well within the range of variation of the cult, and of course in most respects the meetings are similar or identical. The principal change seems to be that women are allowed a much greater part in the

TABLE I

Differences in Big Moon Peyotism
1930 and 1952

1930—Anadarko	1952—Dewey
1. Quiet period in afternoon prior to ceremony.	1. Participants gather just before ceremony.
2. Road-chief seated people; women on south.	2. Sit where you like. Women seated on north and south.
3. Oil lamp near altar.	3. No light other than fire.
4. Personal paraphernalia permitted after midnight.	4. No personal paraphernalia in evidence at any time.
5. Crucifix on altar.	5. No crucifix.
6. Only road-chief smoked Indian tobacco cigarette to open meeting.	6. Everybody smokes corn husk-Bull Durham cigarette.
7. Women given only the peyote tea.	7. Women eat green or dried peyote; men drink tea.
8. "Fanning" with eagle-feather fan after sets of songs.	8. Absent.
9. Drum-chief sang after road-chiefs' opening song.	9. Drum-chief is last to sing; clockwise circuit followed without exception.
10. Women did not sing.	10. Woman sang, but permission had to be given by road-chief.
11. No midnight intermission.	11. Midnight intermission.
12. No shamanistic curing (possibly permitted).	12. Winnebago performed cure on wife.
13. At dawn road-chief sang "morning water-song"; each person drank water.	13. Negative.
14. Filed outside, washed faces, faced rising sun, returned to tepee, etc.	14. Meeting closed with Lord's Prayer.
15. No breakfast.	15. Breakfast.
16. Candy, etc., distributed at noon meal.	16. Candy passed before leaving tepee.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

meeting than they were two decades ago. In this respect peyotists seem to be merely following the general trend of White society.

Big Moon peyotism diffused to the Delawares as a substitute for an outmoded religious system, but its replacement of the traditional religion has been slow and incomplete. The peyote cult is still regarded by many Delawares as a somewhat inferior replacement for the traditional ceremonies. What is more, during World War II the Big House Ceremony, the major, annual religious rite of the Delawares, was revived and held three times, albeit in abbreviated form. The Delawares would continue the old rites today, but because of expense, cultural decay, and other factors, they have been finally abandoned. It is doubtful whether the traditional rites, even if abbreviated and vestigial, can ever again be held. Petrullo (1934: 175) underestimated their strength when he said more than two decades ago that they were "No longer able to perform the ancient ceremonies. . . ." Neither Petrullo nor I found out what proportion of the Delawares were peyotists, Christians, or adherents to the old religion, so that changes in religious affiliation are largely a matter of conjecture. It is known, however, that many of the proponents of the abandoned religion have become peyotists, but at least a few have become Christians. In short, the peyote cult has never completely replaced the traditional religion, nor has it gained universal approval. The most that can be said by way of comparison is that the Big Moon cult was a covert, lively, and popular one in the thirties; it remains so today.

Probably the greatest changes which have occurred in Delaware Big Moon peyotism within the past twenty-five years have been in the reasons why people are drawn to it. There is not space here to discuss this topic in detail, but it should be pointed out that the peyote cult originally diffused to the Delawares, and was still attractive to them in the early thirties because:

> . . it teaches acceptance of the new world, and makes possible an attitude of resignation in the face of the probable disappearance of the Indian groups as distinct peoples, culturally and racially, by insisting on the necessity of emancipation from mundane aspirations. . . . [The peyote cult] is the natural but final recourse of a subjugated people who fully realize the inadequacy of their material means to restore their former world-state (Petrullo, 1934: 1).

The appeal of modern peyotism is, at least in part, of a different nature. Briefly, the Delawares are no longer a cohesive cultural or social entity; they are geographically scattered and socially atomized. There is no tribal activity which draws them together as Delawares, and every year there are fewer distinctive customs which set them apart from

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584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice
586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his
[562] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.[18]

572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in
[521] the chase, and in various other life-crises.[19] Men were more at ease with one another
[562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automati-
[593] cally suspect as a lie any tale which they heard from a woman.[20] It was a common saying, "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old
888 women were accused by the men of being
439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.[22]

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption
571 on the part of all Delawares—men and women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 82-83.
17. Zeisberger, 1378, p. 83.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.

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562
571 women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

153 There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth
[787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a
[527] recurrent institutional theme: almost all social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive
[757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually
[758] taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid
[754] diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both
762] accomplished in most cases by poison taken by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were some-
[727] times ceremonially eaten, and hunger
266] cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties made a ceremonial feast the night before their departure;[29] emetics were extensively
[757] used in the treatment of disease, and vomit-
777] ing was thought to relieve a sense of guilt, and also to bring luck.[30]

23. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
24. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
25. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tantaquidgeon.
26. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
27. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 258.
28. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 107-108.
29. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
30. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.

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156 received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some
787 other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high
154 and proud spirit."[32] We shall have further occasion to remark how many institutions were mobilized to prevent such casual wounds to self-esteem. We shall also see how much aggression such blows to self-esteem could arouse. Heckewelder and
[762] Zeisberger both mention that suicide was a common way of expressing the enormous but disorganized hostility aroused by slights such as marital infidelity or public shaming.[33]

Absence of Authoritarianism

861 Zeisberger and Heckewelder agreed that Delaware parents avoided corporal punishment, scolding, threatening, or otherwise disciplining children. Growing boys were left pretty much to their own devices. Little homilies on moral values were addressed to them and the child's pride was appealed to in efforts to induce ap-
593 proved social behavior.[34] The father spent much of his time away from home in the employments of the chase (especially when the fur trade added to the importance of
[462] hunting); the mother was responsible for the fundamental subsistence activities. In general the male was peripheral, the female
●562 central in cultural role.[35] Delaware women were described as being given to petty
[157] meanness, malicious gossip, and lying; but they were not "matriarchs" in the sense of being the recognized arbiters of the home or society. Their evidently enlarged spite-

32. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
33. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 258-260; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
34. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 113-117; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 16, 81.
35. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 154-162; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 13-14.

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562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
157 have been owing to the fact that they were much more restricted in childhood than their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware society was there the model of anyone
542 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
622 father ruled the roost at home in an
625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no power to enforce their wishes, and there was no conception of a state with police
586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent and could be initiated by either party simply leaving the other.[36] Supernatural
776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who regularly punished the wicked and rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned rather with a supernatural guardian spirit who acted as a comrade and friend who would assist his mortal protege in critical passes. Shame and pride are more frequent themes than guilt and self-righteousness.
577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather . . . through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings.[37]

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
577 the Delaware often did not develop a strong authoritarian, coercive conscience; moral values (which certainly were recognized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic character; "good" and "bad" had a light affective tone.

114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
626 in less discipline and autocracy than was fashionable in eighteenth century Europe, was still puzzled as to how a society without authority could hold together. "Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians," he wrote, "one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not
626 be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be."[38] This superficial smooth-

36 Heckewelder, 1819, p. 154; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 20-21.
37 Speck, 1931, p. 51.
38 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122.

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154 rein these are the more violent."[51] Warfare
[721] provided a socially approved way of bleeding off some of these aggressions, for the warriors; and the institution of torture
154 gave the rest of the community a similar
727 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate
154 captive their cruel and revengeful dis-
627 position."[52] The institution of blood-revenge[53] (which sometimes led to prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet for aggression; but the fear of its exercise no doubt served also to inhibit it. In
154 hunting, males could work off aggression
224 on animals, which were conceptualized as quasi-human. It is worth noting that among women, who had a more restricted
154 childhood and who at the same time had
521 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for aggression, the overflow dribbled off in
562 unpleasant gossip and slander, which the men, who had other means of catharsis, professed to scorn.[54]

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis-
273 solved the inhibitions against aggression.
578 "The effects which intoxication produces upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them."[55] As might be expected, therefore, Indian spokesmen frequently—and in vain—implored the whites to cease bringing liquor into their settlements.

Summary

127 From an examination of the early ethnological literature concerning the Delaware Indians, we have been able to discover some of their psychological
855 characteristics. The Delawares would seem in general to have been a people among whom the children grew up

51. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.
52. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.
53. Penn, 1683.
54. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.

[P.39, A]

855 receiving from their mothers adequate physical care, especially in early infancy, but that the child did not receive much of what we would call "affection" or "love" and from time to time was neglected and subjected to petty meanness. The father had only intermittent contact with the mother-child nexus, and to the child appeared as a distant potentially loving (and perhaps also potentially threatening), but practically [861] remote figure. Neither parent made use of systematic punishment as an educative technique. The male child grew up into an adult who saw women both as 86 romantic ideals and as untrustworthy •562 and malicious, potentially witches, while men were regarded as potential comrades, toward whom nevertheless highly polite, circumspect behavior was required in order to avoid giving offense. Women grew up to be discreet but covertly malicious wives and mothers. No individual of either sex was conceived as [571] the possessor of unquestioned authority, and social relations hence were very individualistic and fissionable. There is 155 evidence to suggest that the individual remained somewhat fixed, on an unconscious level, to infantile patterns of "oral" reaction, of a dependent, aggressively demanding nature, although these dependency patterns were masked by a superficial individualism and self-sufficiency, and by careful inhibition of any openly aggressive behavior. The conflict between the dependent and aggressive impulses, on the one hand, and the conscientious efforts to be self-sufficient and unaggressive on the other, was partially resolved by the guardian spirit complex, a technique of personality integration which allowed the adolescent to collect his dependency wishes and displace them onto the fantasy figure of an all-powerful parent. Further relief was afforded by various institutionalized ritual or semi-ritual institutions, such as warfare, feasting, and religion. Liquor, however, was a severe threat to the integrity of the society, since it allowed repressed and sublimated im-

[54(c)]

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small, by which he meant, I suppose, that it was prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that des-
611 cent in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum 90 A says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the name of the office, or the title of the person equivalent to President or King. They also have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or the chiefs. The term also includes the three
[623] head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction to councillors. The office has no special name. These two are inferior. If the three head chiefs decide upon a measure the two inferior must submit, but if two of the head chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should agree and the third head chief should stand out, the thing could not be done. The principal power is with the head chiefs. The three head chiefs can never go out to war, but the two inferior chiefs may. They are not, however, called war chiefs. Besides
623 these three the wise and experienced men of the nation are called councillors or Ha-ha-che-nowl-se-chick, which means simply councillors. These have a right to speak in a council of the chiefs. They can speak of their own motion without waiting to be
• [562] asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak in council.

Religious System

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[770] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they all went to heaven.

90 A [For footnote, see category 116, p. 209 (C)-- Analyst]